

NO ISOLATION FOR THE DEFENDERS OF LIBERTY, DECLARES HUGHES

READY TO AID ALLY, IS BALFOUR ANSWER

Speedy Assistance Assured if 'Lust of Domination' Again Endangers France, Says British Leader—Other Nations Indorse French Premier's Views.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 21 (Associated Press).—Speeches of Mr. Balfour, Secretary Hughes, Baron Kato, Senator Schanzer and Baron de Cartier at the plenary session to-day, as officially reported, were as follows:

Mr. Balfour, speaking for Great Britain, said:

Mr. Chairman: Evidently this is not a fitting moment to deal at length or in detail with the great speech which has just come to its conclusion. It has been your privilege, and my privilege, to hear one of the great masters of parliamentary oratory. We have heard him with admiration, we have heard him with a full measure of sympathy, but we have done much more, I think, than merely been the auditors of a great, artistic performance; we have heard something more than a great speech; we have heard a perfectly candid, perfectly lucid, perfectly unimpeachable exposition of the innermost thoughts of the Prime Minister of our great ally. He has told us, I believe, without reserve what are the anxieties, what are the preoccupations of the country over whose destinies he presides. He has told us what they fear and why they fear it.

And nothing can be more useful, nothing can be more instructive to us of other nations than to have this full revelation of the inner thoughts of one of our allied and associated statesmen.

We live under very different conditions from the French citizens, for whom M. Briand has so eloquently spoken. In the secure homes of America no terror exist or can exist comparable to those which inevitably haunt the thoughts, waking and sleeping, of the leaders of French politics; for they have what neither you in America have, nor we in England have. I do not venture to speak for the other nations represented around the table.

They have at their very doors the great country, great in spite of defeat, powerful in spite of losses, and of its policy, of the course which it means to pursue in the future, they necessarily remain in anxious doubt. It is good for us all, I venture to say, from whatever nation we may be drawn, from whatever part of this great continent we come, that we should be initiated, as they have been initiated this morning, into the inner sanctuary of French policy.

It must be acknowledged, sorrowfully acknowledged, that the speech to which we have just listened is not hopeful for any immediate solution of the great problem of land armaments. And why is it—why is it that there is this great difference between land armaments and sea armaments? Why is it that we all here look forward with a confidence, which I think is not overrated, a serene confidence, to bringing about as a result of our deliberations, some great measure, and under the guidance of the programme laid before you by the United States Government, why is it that we are hopeful of coming to some solution of the great naval problem?

It is because, in the language of M. Briand, there has been in matters maritime, a moral disarmament, and it is on the basis of moral disarmament that the physical and

material disarmament is going to be built.

That is why we are hopeful about the naval question. And why are we less hopeful about at least any immediate settlement of the military question? It is because, as M. Briand has explained to you, in that case there has not been moral disarmament, because we have no assurance, or because the French Government, who watch these things closely, have no assurance either in Russia or in Germany, that moral disarmament has made the degree of progress which would make material disarmament an immediate possibility.

I do not venture to offer an opinion of my own upon this question. I leave you to judge of the facts, as they have been expounded by one who has profoundly studied them and whose gifts of exposition cannot be excelled.

Only this I would say, for I need hardly tell you that I am not going to make a speech. M. Briand appears to have some fears lest France should feel herself in moral isolation. That would be a tragedy, indeed.

That the liberties of Europe and the world in general, and of France in particular, should be maintained and guarded against the dominating policy of her eastern neighbor, is the cause for which the British Empire fought and in which the British still believe.

Killed on the field of battle, we lost nearly a million men. I am talking of the British Empire now. We lost nearly a million men. We lost over two million men in addition, maimed and wounded.

We grieve over the sacrifice; we do not regret it. And if the cause of international liberty was worthy of this immense sacrifice from one of the allied Powers—I speak not of others—it is not my right to speak for them—if it deserved and required this sacrifice from one of the Allied and Associated Powers, and if we at all events have not changed our views, either as to the righteousness of the war or as to its necessity, how can it be otherwise than if a similar necessity should again arise, if again the lust of domination, which has been the curse of Europe for so many generations, should again threaten the peace, the independence, the self-development of our neighbors and allies, how should it be possible that the sympathies, once so warm, should become cold, and that we who had done so much for the great cause of international liberty should seek to cause it to perish before our eyes rather than make further sacrifices in its defense.

Those are the thoughts which rise in my mind after hearing the great speech of M. Briand. I should only be interfering, I should only be weakening its effect were I to dwell further upon them, and I will content myself, therefore, with thanking M. Briand for the admirable and candid account which he has given of the policy of his country, and wishing him and his country every success and every prosperity in that path of unaggressive prosperity which I hope and believe they are now entering.

Japan Ready to Approve Principle; Sees Difficulty in Finding a Basis

Baron Kato, for Japan, said: It is needless for me to assure Mr. Briand that Japan has nothing but a most profound sympathy for her peculiarly difficult position which has been so clearly and so eloquently presented to us this morning. May I venture also to add Japan's appreciation of any sympathies for the great sacrifices in men and wealth made by France, the British Empire, Italy and the United States in the great war for the cause of peace, justice and harmony?

I would like to say this morning just a few words on land armament question. Japan is quite ready to announce her attitude in regard to the principle which aims to relieve a people of heavy burdens by limiting land armaments to those which are

necessary for national security and the maintenance of order within the territory.

The size of the land armaments of each State should be determined by its peculiar geographical situation and other circumstances, and these basic factors are so divergent and complicated that an effort to draw final comparisons is hardly possible. If I may venture to say it, it is not an easy task to lay down a general scheme for the limitation of land armaments, as in the case of limitation of naval armaments. Nevertheless Japan has not the slightest intention of maintaining land armaments which are in excess of those which are absolutely necessary for purely defensive purposes, necessitated by the Far Eastern situation.

Italy With 200,000 Army in Accord; Will Make Still More Reduction

Senator Schanzer, on behalf of Italy, said:

Gentlemen, I am going to use the French language because I wish that the thought of the Italian delegation should arrive direct to the French delegation across the table.

Gentlemen, we have listened with almost religious silence to the magnificent speech which M. Briand has delivered with warm eloquence to explain the position of France and the French point of view.

We are united to France, certainly, not only by the bonds of affinity and common race, but also by the brotherhood in art, by the fraternity of a long and glorious war, which has received a new and unforgettable consecration when the two peoples fought together on the same battlefields for the sacred defense of national liberty and for the cause of justice.

We listened with the greatest attention to the figures and documents quoted by M. Briand, and we found with great pleasure that France, in spite of the great difficulties and within the limits of probability, was ready to contemplate the principle of limitation of land armament.

It is far from my mind to discuss what France considers indispensable for her national safety. That safety is as dear to us as it may be to them, and we are still morally by the side of our allies of yesterday and our friends of to-day.

I wanted to say this. Only, may

I be allowed to express the wish and the hope that the general limitation of land armament may become a reality within the shortest possible space of time. Italy has fought the war for the highest aims which a country can seek, but Italy is in her soul a peace loving nation. I shall not repeat what I had the honor to state at the first meeting of the conference, but I should like to emphasize again that Italy is one of the surest factors of the world's peace; that she has no reason whatsoever of conflict with any other country; that she is following and putting constantly into action a policy inspired by the principle of maintaining peace among all nations.

Italy has succeeded in coming to a direct understanding with the Serb, Croat and Slovene peoples, and in order to attain such an end has made considerable sacrifices for the interest of the peace of Europe. Italy has pursued toward the successor countries to her former enemies a policy not only of pacification but of assistance. And when a conflict arose between Austria and Hungary, a conflict which might have dragged into war the Danubian peoples, Italy offered to the two countries in conflict her friendly help in order to settle the dispute. Italy has succeeded, and in so doing has actively contributed to the peace of Europe.

Moreover, Italy has acted similarly within her own frontiers and

KEYNOTES FROM ADDRESSES DEALING WITH FRENCH ARMY

PREMIER BRIAND—I may say here emphatically in the face of the world we have no hatred in our hearts, and France will do everything she can. She will use every means to prevent between Germany and herself a recurrence of these bloody conflicts. She wishes for nothing else but that the two peoples should be able to live side by side in the normal conditions of peace. But, after all, we have no right to forget.

MR. BALFOUR—That the liberties of Europe and the world in general, and of France in particular, should be maintained and guarded against the dominating policy of her eastern neighbor is the cause for which the British Empire fought and in which the British Empire still believes.

SENATOR SCHANZER—The problem is not a simple one and must be considered as a whole. It must be considered at no far distant future and solved with just recognition for the necessities of France and perhaps one or two other countries.

BARON DE CARTIER—If I may refer to the words which King Albert of the Belgians in his message to President Harding used, I will say that the Belgian nation calls with her earnest wishes for the moment when the general situation will allow us to enter upon the path of the limitation of armaments.

BARON KATO—Japan has nothing but a most profound sympathy for France's peculiarly difficult position, which has been so clearly and so eloquently presented to us this morning.

SECRETARY HUGHES—We fully recognize the special difficulties that exist with respect to military forces abroad. We fully understand the apprehensions that exist, their bases and also the essential conditions of national security which must appeal to all the Powers that are here represented.

has reduced her armed forces in the largest possible measure. She has considerably curtailed her navy expenditures in comparison to the prewar time. The total amount of her armed forces does not exceed 299,000 men, and a further reduction to 175,000 men is already planned, and 35,000 colored troops.

Our ordinary war budget for the present financial year amounts to \$52,000,000, including \$11,000,000 expenses for police forces. The extraordinary part of the war budget, representing expenses dependent for the liquidation of the war, expenses therefore of a purely transitional character, amounts to \$62,000,000.

However, although we have reduced our armaments to the greatest possible extent, we consider it necessary, for a complete solution of the problem of limitation of armaments in Europe to take into consideration the armaments of the countries either created or transformed as a result

of the war. The problem is not a simple one. It must be considered as a whole. It is a serious and urgent problem, for which a solution at no far distant day is necessary.

Gentlemen, I trust I have said all that is necessary to explain the Italian point of view. The United States, in calling this conference, has taken a great and noble initiative, with the aim of creating sound guarantees for the safeguarding of the peace of the world.

In conclusion, may I express the desire and the hope that the conference, while taking into account the present difficulties, should give attention also to the problem of the limitation of land armaments, the solution of which is an essential condition for promoting throughout the world that atmosphere of peace which Mr. Briand has so clearly explained and without which it would be hopeless to anticipate that the economic and social reconstruction of the nations which may have suffered most severely during and after the war may be fulfilled.

Belgium With Forces Already Cut Cannot Further Reduce Armament

Baron de Cartier of Belgium said: Mr. President: Being still under the spell of the thrilling and convincing speech delivered by M. Briand, I would just like to state briefly the point of view of Belgium on the question of limitation of land armaments.

Belgium, trusting in the understanding given by the Powers that guaranteed her neutrality, remained for three-quarters of a century faithful to a policy of peace and limitation of armament. The tragic events of 1914 were for her a terrible awakening. While she was aspiring to nothing but peace, while she was only anxious to accomplish her duty as a neutral state, war was carried on her own territory by the two Powers that had not only taken the engagements with respect to neutrality but to see that that neutrality should be respected.

Devastation, fire, want, extermination of her industries, murdering and wounding of her inhabitants, deportation of civilian population, heavy losses in her armies were the reward of her peaceful policy and of the fulfillment of her international obligations.

The Treaty of Versailles put an end to this regime, which even had proved to be worthless and

dangerous for her. Owing to her special geographical position and to her situation, Belgium is forced to remain in a certain position, and in 1920 concluded with France a military agreement purely for defensive purposes and in case of non, unprovoked aggression on the part of Germany. She keeps her army down to a level that is strictly consistent with the requirements of her national security, and she could not possibly proceed to a further reduction of her armament. And yet there is perhaps no state that is more sincerely peace loving. We have no hatred whatever, and we do not want to see that war which has inflicted such painful sufferings upon us.

If I may refer to the words which King Albert of the Belgians in his message to President Harding used, I will say that the Belgian nation calls with her earnest wishes for the moment when the general situation will allow us to enter upon the path of the limitation of armaments. She admires the initiative taken by the Government of the United States and wishes every success to the conference for the greater benefit of the whole world.

America Will Not Permit Defenders of Freedom to Be Left Isolated

Secretary Hughes in his opening address said:

It is a pleasure to be able to state that gratifying progress has been made in the work of the conference. The proposals of the American Government with respect to the limitation of naval armament have been under consideration by the committee of the plenipotentiary delegates of the five Powers, and aided by a subcommittee of naval experts, that matter is progressing favorably. You will recall the appointment of a committee consisting of the plenipotentiary delegates of the five Powers to consider questions relating to the Pacific and the Far East.

In the course of the deliberations of that committee, most important declarations have been made on behalf of the represented countries, and while there is nothing at the moment to report to the plenary session with respect to either of these topics, I think I am justified in saying that our expectations with respect to the expedition and thoroughness of our consideration on these matters have already been more than realized.

There remains another subject which so far has not engaged our attention, and that is the subject of land armament or military forces.

So far as the army of the United States is concerned, no question is presented. It has always been the policy of the United States—it is its traditional policy—to have the regular military establishments upon the smallest possible basis. At the time of the armistice there were in the field and in training in the American army upwards of 4,200,000 men. At once upon the signing of the armistice demobilization began, and it was practically completed in the course of the following year, and to-day

our regular establishment amounts to less than 160,000 men.

While, however, we have this gratifying condition with respect to the military forces in the United States, we fully recognize the special difficulties that exist with respect to military forces abroad. We fully understand the apprehensions that exist, their bases and also the essential conditions of national security which must appeal to all the Powers that are here represented.

It is regarded as fitting at this time that there should be the freest opportunity for the presentation of views upon this subject of land armament or military forces by the delegates present, and it is the wish of all delegates that the considerations that are pertinent and full explanation of all the conditions that exist that bear upon the matter should be had, and that all of the delegates of the governments represented here should have opportunity to present fully the matters which they think should be understood by the conference and the world.

In his closing address Secretary Hughes said:

I shall detain you, gentlemen, but a moment. It would not do justice to my own sentiment or to that of my colleagues of the American delegation if I did not, in a word, take part in this expression of the sense of privilege which has been felt in listening to this brilliant, eloquent, comprehensive and instructive address, stating the position and policy of France.

No words ever spoken by France have fallen upon deaf ears in the United States. The heart of America was thrilled by her valor and her sacrifice, and the memory of her stand for liberty is imperishable in this country, devoted to the institutions of liberty.

It is evident from what M. Briand has said that what is es-

FRENCH ARMY HALTS NEW WAR, BRIAND'S WARNING

Continued from Preceding Page.

know, in Upper Silesia. I have already referred to this subject. Germany, who did not think that the French people were ready to undertake a military operation, suddenly informed us that she was going to send the Reichswehr on the spot in Upper Silesia in order to preserve order.

These were momentous times for us, and although I have been through many critical times in my life, I may say that no hour was perhaps of more importance than that. And I clearly and definitely made up my mind. I told Germany that such a thing was not possible and that if Germany undertook a thing of the sort she would have to bear the consequences, and the language was understood.

But, gentlemen, if I had spoken without having the French army back of me, what would my words have become? And if the event had actually taken place, what would have become of Europe itself? Europe is still in a troublesome state. It is composed of young States, newly come to life. Who would say what such conflict might have become?

That is the problem, and that was the problem, and the struggle did not take place because it was felt that there was still a sufficient force in Europe and in France to preserve order.

Quite recently another attempt has been made, a certain attempt at the restoring of the old order of things in the centre of Europe, that might have set fire to the powder magazine again. Nothing happened because the Allies were in perfect understanding, and the incident was peaceably settled.

Gentlemen, I give you these reflections for you to ponder over. You will see that there is nothing in that that would draw us aside from the path that leads to final peace. I apologize for having been with you so long and for having trespassed on your attention. Perhaps at another time the President will be less inclined to allow me to speak.

The thought of reducing the armaments, which was the noble purpose of this conference, is not one from which we would feel disinterested from the point of view of land armaments. We have shown it already. Immediately after the armistice demobilization began, and demobilization began as rapidly and as completely as possible.

According to the military laws of France there are to be three classes of men—that is, three generations of young men under the flag.

That law is still extant; that law is still valid. It has not been abrogated yet; and the Government has taken the responsibility to reduce to two years the time spent under the flag, and instead of three classes—three generations of young men—we have only two undergoing military service.

It is therefore an immediate re-

solution of one-third that has taken place in the effective—and I am speaking of the normal effective of the metropolis, leaving aside troops needed for colonial occupation or obligation imposed by treaty in Rhineland or countries under plebiscite.

"We did not think that endeavor was sufficient, and in the future we have plans to further restrict the extent of our armies. In a few days it is certain that the proposals of the Government will be passed in the Chamber to further reduce the military services by half. That is to say, there will be only one class and a half actually serving."

"The metropolitan French army would be therefore reduced by half, but if anybody asks us to go further, to consent to other reductions, I should have to answer clearly and definitely that it would be impossible for us to do it without exposing ourselves to a most serious danger."

You might possibly come and tell us "This danger that you are exposed to, we see it, we realize it, and we are going to share it with you. We are going to offer you all means—but all means at your disposal in order to secure your safety." Immediately, if we heard those words, of course we would strike upon another plan. We should be only too pleased to demonstrate the sincerity of our purpose.

But we understand the difficulties and the necessities of the statesmen of other countries.

We understand the position of other peoples who have also to face difficult and troublous situations. We are not selfish enough to ask other people to give a part of their sovereign national independence in order to turn it to our benefit and come to our help. We do not expect it; but here I am appealing to your conscience, if France is to remain alone, facing the situation such as I have described, and without any exaggeration—you must not deny her what she wants in order to insure her security. You must let her do what she has to do, if need arise and if the time comes.

I should be the last one here to try to restrict the noble endeavors which are being made in order to limit armament, as in the conference which has been convened, with such noble purposes in view, and I should like to be able to say that I foresee no limit, no restriction to your labors and to the results which you may achieve. Any question here can be debated and can be resolved upon, but I must draw your attention to one thing: Moral disarmament of France would be very dangerous. Allow me to say it would be most unjust.

We do not enjoy the sufficient conditions. We should be ready to do it, but the time has not come yet to give up our defence for the sake of final peace in Europe. We have to know, however, that France is not morally isolated; that she still has with her the men of good will, and the heart of all people

who have fought with her on the same battlefield. The true condition of a moral disarmament in Germany—I mean to say I am referring to these noxious elements of which I have already spoken—the true condition at this time of disarmament in Germany lies in the fact that it should be known over there that France is not alone and then I feel quite sure that the poisonous propaganda of which I have spoken will simply run up dead against the wall; that it will not be able to go through, and that nobody anywhere will believe in it.

If those that still harbor evil designs know that, and if those that entertain happy ideas of peace—this working class that want to return to a normal state of peace—if it is known in Germany that France is not morally alone, peace will come back much quicker; and the words of anger, the words of revenge, will be simply preached in the wilderness. It will be impossible for Germany to reconstruct a defensive army, and she will be able to install democratic institutions, and then we can all hope for final conditions of peace. Everything that France can do in this direction she will do.

In fact, she has already done much. She did not hesitate to open conversations with the German Government in order to settle this painful question of reparation for the devastated regions. Everything has been done and will be done in order to restore normal conditions, and the hour will come when everything will be settled, but the hour has not yet come.

If by direction given the labors of the conference it were possible somewhere over there in Europe—if it were possible to say that the outcome of this conference is indirect blame and opprobrium cast upon France—if it was possible to point out France as the only country in the world that is still imperialistic, as the only country that opposes final disarmament, then, gentlemen, indeed this conference would have dealt us a severe blow. But I am quite sure that nothing is further from your minds and from your intentions.

If after listening to this argument, after weighing the reasons which you have just heard, you consider it then as valid, then, gentlemen, you will still be with us and you will agree with us in saying that France cannot possibly do anything but what she has actually done.

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